/14 cont./

621 The settlement of Bananal is one of the oldest among those that now exist on the coast of the State of São Paulo.

[162] It is probable that there are to be found today among the Indians of Bananal descendants of at least three Guaraní hordes: [648] Tafiguá, Apapokúva, and Oguahuíva. In 1949 the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios re-established the native post that formerly existed at Bananal.

621 178 In recent years the village, which had at its disposal a patrimony of 240 alqueires, has been showing many signs of dissolution. Numerous factors have contributed to this, among [166] them the tendency for great spatial mobility, together with phenomena of social disorganization stemming from the contact and crossing with elements of the coastal population. In Bananal 621 162 166 in June of 1946 I counted 57 inhabitants (including Indians, caboclos married to Indian girls, and mestizos), forming ten families /Port. fogos, fires, hearths, families, houses/ in all. In November of the same year there were only nine families, among which were distributed only 27 individuals: 16 Indians, 2 caboclos, and 9 mestizos. Some of the inhabitants stay at São Vicente or at some other point close to some coastal center. In 1948 almost the entire village stayed at kilometer 10 of the Santos-Juquiá railway for [768] some months. The Indians had abandoned their homes because of an accident in which a member of the community had lost his [755] life. They also leave at times for long periods for "health treatments," i.e., to consult some famous curer. Not infrequently [464] the men absent themselves for weeks at a time to work on some fazenda in the Ranhaém region.

621 182 [563] Everything shows a state of increasing detribalization. The number of Indian girls married to caiçaras /a term in São Paulo for the caboclos who live on the coast/ and living outside the community seems to be relatively high already. The mixed marriages with caboclos and caiçaras in the bosom of the community tend to increase; the /15/ mutirões /co-operative work parties; see pp. 66 ff./ with caboclos and the celebrations frequented by them are the order of the day, making acculturation proceed rapidly in the direction of the rural culture of the region.

621 433 In the economy tillage predominates over hunting, having

2: Schaden--147 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/116 cont./

/footnote 9 cont./

774 828 three souls in every human being, has heretical ideas regarding the atsýyguá. For him all are bearers of ayvú, but not all are bearers of atsýyguá; and he does not admit the Portuguese word "alma" /soul/ to designate it. "Only bad people have it, it is their badness." If [753] someone arrogantly comes to quarrel with me, and if after a while I get sick, it is said "Aé yatsýyguama," it was he who did harm. By [755] means of a "little blessing" /Port. "benzinho"/ the ñanderú can get rid of the atsýyguá. -- 184 774 828 755 This interpretation, in which the Catholic will immediately perceive an analogy to the absolution from sins, is not endorsed by the Ñandéva most versed in the orthodox doctrine, insofar as it is possible to use this expression. Marçal, for example, told me: "The ñanderú cannot take away the atsýyguá, because then the person would die." And he told of the case of a child that cried all the time and did not want to suck. The ñanderú prescribed to the mother that she should hang around the child's neck the beak of a parrot (parakáu); this beak blocked the view of the mother's atsýyguá, which was a snake 774 828 755 [775] coiled up in her breast. -- What can be taken away are the prayers sent by the atsýyguá, when already transformed into the anguéry. The soul, which after death remains wandering over the ground (anguéry, shade /Port. assombração/)," the ñanderú Sebastião explained to me, "sometimes also gives a prayer, but it is not good; the person should not take the prayer otherwise he remains changed and talks non- [753] sense." João Américo of Itariri, when he was living at Araribá, "caught" one of these prayers, became half crazy, and fell ill. Sebastião,

/116 cont./

774 828 755 early one morning (around four o'clock; he told me that this is the hour when the spirits usually come in contact with men), went to his house and "took away" the prayer from him. The next morning he already sharpened his hoe and went to work. In the process of "taking away" [756] [624] the bad prayer, the ñanderú is helped by the yvyráídjá; the women strike the takuápú; the ñanderú only gives the order to take the prayer away; then the spirits of the yvyráídjá take the bad spirit and send it where it came from. -- 774 828 The ayvú and the ayvúporãvẽ send prayers too, but good ones. More will be said about the prayers later. Here, however, it is necessary to note the pure and simple identification of the "bad prayer" with the "bad spirit," the probable root of Poýdjú's conception. Also see note 5 /see p. 140/.

because it "has not committed a sin, it is innocent" (recourse to the Christian concept in order to explain a traditional ideal); the atsýyguá develope with the "sins," the "extravagance" practiced 774 by the adults. Thus, there are atsýyguá more or less developed; 775 those of the "disturbers of the peace" and "bullies" are the most 828 dangerous ones after death, when they are transformed into anguêry. The atsýyguá of the individual, Sebastião insisted, [825] is revealed by the fact that he resembles this or that animal, macaco, fox, snake, monkey /Port. bugio/, dog, cat, "ugly people," and so forth; "when he dies, he becomes exactly that, 775 to wander over the ground." It is thus the anguêry that is sometimes heard crying out at night, far away, in a wailing voice. It is what disappears from the body when the latter has decomposed. It kills children and even adults. For that, it is sufficient to see it. It roams along the roads and other places at certain hours: more or less from eleven at night to one in the morning; then it returns to its place in the cemetery. Anguêry oguatá pytîmbytá

/116 cont./
795 oó dyvý yvýkuárendápý. It only goes about in those places where the body went when alive. During the day the anguêry "does not go about."

/117/ Poýdjú told me there are two kinds of anguêry, some like a phantom in human form, others like a hairless dog (10).

10. /From p. 151 of the original source./ By the way, the animals also have anguêry, as is seen from a myth entitled mbore-odjépotá, which I had an opportunity to collect at Araribá.

[825] [126]

weeping and crying like a child, and both of which are the "shade" /Port. "assombração"/ of someone who has died. Sometimes one hears the anguêry speak with a human voice, sometimes one hears it weeping, but no one is seen. According [184] to Poýdjú, the anguêry goes about at night and at midday, an opinion that I have also found among the Ñandéva of the coast.

A constant preoccupation of every Guaraní, no matter what subgroup he belongs to, is the fear of coming in contact with some anguêry. When a family has to walk in the forest at night, the children walk in front. "I am afraid," said old Ermelina, "there are anguêry"; that is also why she does not [753] let the children go "that way." Every anguêry does harm; it [761] brings sickness and sometimes, as we have seen, death. It can • [755] be made to withdraw to another place by means of prayers; Ñanderykeý is asked to make it go away; this, among the Ñandéva. Therefore, a religious recourse and not magical.

The anguêry, desperately roaming about the forest, feared by all, reminds one of "shades" and "troubled souls" at the same time. But it is not a "condemned" soul in the proper sense of the word, but simply an extremely unhappy one. Aside from ex- 795 828 179 ceptional cases, it would be difficult for the Ñandéva to arrive at the idea of considering the "wicked spirit" (as we would perhaps say) responsible for his fate. All the more significant are

/119 cont./

774 828 Although a few lines above it was insisted that the designation ñeẽ is a name adequate for putting the faculty of communication in the first rank, it is obvious that for the Mbüá, too, the soul is not reduced to this. After all it is necessary to have something to be communicated, particularly the inclinations and impulses of the individual, his desires, which for every Guaraní seem to constitute the essence of his soul. The Mbüá divides them up into two categories, the good ones and the wicked ones, speaking therefore of good and bad souls. In this sense the terms good and wicked do not translate an ethical evaluation, but a purely naturalistic distinction, more or less like strong and weak, or beneficial and dangerous. And, bearing in mind the communitary mentality of primitive man, it is not surprising that this dualism refers especially to the attitudes and the behavior of the individual before his fellow tribesmen.

774 /120/ The seat of the soul -- or the souls -- is not a particular part of the body, but the whole body. Furthermore, the ñeẽ are characterized by a relatively free and autonomous existence, that is, they exist independently of the body, being able to leave it, one by one, and going to distant regions. If at a given moment, for example, someone thinks of me in faraway Mato Grosso, being angry with me or even wishing me harm, it is because my bad soul has met the one belonging to him there in the forest, irking it. Conversely, the unexpected recollection of an Indian friend who accompanied me on some trip into the interior or something else of the sort is nothing other than a visit with which his good soul (or one of his good souls) treats me.

[761] The three souls come and go through the vertex, moving freely through space; on the hypothesis, however, that all abandon the body at one time, the person dies.

761 [755] Incidentally, the day of death is already determined at the time of birth. Everyone comes into the world bearing his destiny. This also explains why the best of the doctor-sorcerers does not always succeed in saving the patient's life. "Sinners" do not go

775 to the sky immediately. Their "spirit" remains roaming about in an intermediate region until the body is completely decomposed. Only then does the good part have permission to enter

/124 cont./

782 The ñanderú is distinguished from the others principally
778 by the quantity of prayers of which he is the bearer or owner (14).
424
622
736
[171]

14. /From p. 151 of the original source./ There is an interesting analogy between the Guaraní ñanderú and the pazé of the Tenetehára. While the former is the more powerful the greater the number of prayers that he has at his disposal in order to put himself in contact with the supernatural world, the latter grows in importance and power with the number of evil spirits, carriers of sicknesses, which he is able to "call," in order to be possessed by them and then drive them away. Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 109-110.

Each of them can have, as we have seen, greater or lesser "force," susceptible of being intensified or not, according to the attitudes of one's fellows and the behavior and precautions of the one who prays himself. In order for his cures to be effective -- "in order
[262] not to forget everything," in the words of the Indian Zizi of
[115] Bananal --, the ñanderú should nourish himself exclusively with
• [755] "light" food and, above all, avoid the meat of game.

78 I have participated at various times in the prayers and dances
756 directed by ñanderú Miguel, who brought a group of Mbüá in a
622 long pilgrimage from Paraguay to Itariri, on the Atlantic Ocean.
123 During the poráí (name of the prayer in the Mbüá dialect), the religious chief seemed entirely transfigured and claimed to have a
[906] direct understanding with Ñanderú Tenondé, the supreme deity, who informed him of everything that would come to pass on earth. One night he interrupted the prayer and the tiring dance at a certain point in order to tell me that he just received information that on the following day the rains that had continued for some time would end.

/128 cont./

754 123 It is not easy to obtain explanations about the practices of sorcery, and much less to be present at them, as no one wants /Ills. X-XII appear here/ /129/ the suspicion that he uses [184] this kind of resource to fall upon him. The most reserved ones in this sense are the Mbüá.

754 829 [782] Among the Kayová, black magic seems to invade in some way the domain of religions: they have a "prayer to do evil," called ñeẽgaraſ, which the individual sing alone (to the sound of the maraca, according to Marçal); in order to neutralize the [533] harmful effect, there is a "good prayer." They have magic songs, called ñembóẽvaſ or tekópapá; they are sung (softly and without mbarakâ) in front of the track, the clothes, or any object belonging to the person that one wants to strike: the latter becomes sick and dies. The defect of these chants is that they "do not take hold in the civilized"; on the other hand, there is always the danger that the latter can use it against the Indians. The white man is considered immune against native sorcery in general.

[782] The Kayová also use the name ñeẽgaraſ referred to above (along with mbórahẽi ivaſ) to designate a prayer that is resorted to in order to "heat this earth" and destroy the mbaépotxý, that is, the evil spirits that inhabit it (Paſ Jose). Perhaps it was with mbórahẽi ivaſ that Paſ Chiquinho of Panambi wanted to destroy the world, when with his fellow villagers he performed the mad dance on the occasion of the official parceling out of the lands occupied by his group. More than once, by the way, I heard the name mbaépotxý for designating some white man hated by the Kayová.

[782] In the opinion of the Indians, the "prayers to do evil" still do not constitute sorcery. They told me that "sorcery" properly speaking is called mohñ vaſ, done with food remains (orange and banana peelings, etc.) and slower in action. They did not want to teach me the technique.

754 755 Among the Kayová of Amambai death by sorcery is talked about a great deal. They tend to accuse in this sense the person who has made the last visit to the sick person. The victim avenges himself by means of practices of countersorcery. (The wife of the former officer in charge of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 169]

/129 cont./

754 told me that the corpse is cut up with an ax before it is buried;
• 755 then the author of the sorcery will also die.) To neutralize the countersorcery, the killer disinters the body or a piece of it, casting it into the river. The Indian Vicente, of the same village, explained the death of his wife to me, saying: "This son of mine saw a fellow countryman digging in the cemetery." The technique of countersorcery, as was explained to me by [115] Capitão Alberto, is less macabre: One takes a wad of hair [825] from the deceased and catches a snake, which is made to bite several times into the wad of hair; the snake is burned alive in a fire next to the grave and is buried with the deceased. If the author of the death is unable to disinter the corpse and throw it in the water, he will die, because "the snake is what is poisonous."

[114] /130/ A singular ritual practice of countersorcery of the [115] Kayová, which, meanwhile, I have not had the opportunity to 754 witness either, was related to me by Marçal de Souza. When 755 the corpse of a person who fell victim to sorcery is lowered into 766 the grave, a lad chosen by the doctor-sorcerer brings a toad and 825 another one a poisonous snake. Then the doctor-sorcerer orders cut two fine and long spits, which he runs through the body of the toad from the anus to the mouth and from side to side, forming a cross. Meanwhile the two lads act as though they were the victims of the thrusts with the spits: they go through contortions, they jump, they bite at each other, yell, pull the hair, pretend to be eating hot coals and other things that cause pain. Then the doctor-sorcerer takes the snake and makes it take several bites in the dead toad. The lads repeat the pantomime and "confess" to have been the authors of the sorcery that made a victim of the deceased. Then they repeat it while the doctor-sorcerer kills the snake with a stick and pronounces a sort of malediction, speaking to the dead animals: as you died, so will the author of the sorcery die. Finally the two dead animals are buried together with the human cadaver. Similia similibus curantur /like cures like/.

121 /131 cont./
753 possibility of "some spirit invoked into him," an idea perhaps
159 of Amerindian origin, but possibly reinforced by contact with the
(177) spiritism of the civilized inhabitants of the coast. As it could
not fail to be, the same insecurity is observed in the choice of
(755) the methods of cure, magico-medicinal as well as religious,
and of the specialists, who are either doctor-sorcerers of the
same tribe, or civilized "curers," or even doctors possessing an
official diploma.

175 The quid malignum cause of the sickness may be any for-
eign body or poisonous substance or of another form harmful to
health, such as pebbles, seeds, ugly worms, or even fire. If
in fact it has entered the body as a consequence of black magic,
the doctor-sorcerer does not get to do anything about it until he
discovers the one responsible, so as to attack him with counter-
(184) sorcery. This among the Kayová at least. If, however, the
quid malignum entered the body in a natural way, i.e., with-
out there being any unconfessable purposes on the part of ill-
intentioned individuals, whether it be by carelessness, by the
unfortunate conjunction of adverse circumstances, or by the
manifestation of certain deities whose appearance is linked
with certain times of the year, the removal can be made either
by the technique of the doctor-sorcerer, by the use of appropriate
medicines, by means of practices performed by the patient him-
self, or, finally, with the help of religious ceremonies.

761 The attitude of the present-day Guaraní, particularly
753 that of the Ñandéva of the coastal villages, toward sicknesses
and death is characterized by a peculiar combination of fatalism
and -- though we say it with due reserve -- Christian resigna-
761 tion. Capitão Bento's daughter was ill; her father took her to
753 Dr. Militão, a physician of São Vicente or Santos, who pre-
159 scribed a series of remedies for her. But in the end the child
died. "It is because she had to die," was Bento's simple explana-
tion. And Bento's mother added: "When a person has to die,
treatment is not worth anything; when a person does not have to
die, Ñandedjára himself carries the person through. When it is

/146 cont./

[771] [159] [829] [782] [755] [757] [726] [798] I shall sum up here some of Pascoal's explanations /in the following passage the words in quotation marks are translated from Spanish/: I am a curer and pray a little. I take away the "spirit" of the sickness with a mbaraká prayer, just as a civilized doctor takes it away by cutting the belly. But I also give herb tea. I have my "angel" that teaches me the things of the future when I pray. The djeatsaá is my protection: I only have to put it on and nothing will happen to me. In the prayer I use the mbaraká and the djeatsaá; I do not use the cross, "because I do not need it." I do not act like the Kayová, who also pray during the day: I only pray at night. My prayers do not have any words: they do not speak of Ñandedjára, Kurusú, etc.; I simply sing. I cannot pray with the Kayová, for I cannot combine my voice with theirs; they pray "higher" (with a stronger voice). -- And, changing the subject, in response to questions that I put to him: [844] [608] The umbilical cord of the children is cut with scissors or with takuárembó. It is done by the female midwife or male midwife, a relative or not, who then becomes compadre or comadre: "It is a great bond for the Kayová." [553] [787] [851] The one who gives the name is the "sabedor" /the one who knows/, to whom the stars revealed it. He makes cedar-bark water, dips his hand in the water, sprinkles the child in the shape of a cross, and then "tells the name." The baptism is done in the house of the "sabedor," in the presence of the father and mother, "after forty days," while the godfather props up the child. It must be a "fine" ceremony, done with great care, on a date set long beforehand, "in order to secure the spirit, its little angel." [237] [782] [851] [553] The "sabedor" makes a large candle of vorá (swarm of wild bees), which is lighted for four consecutive nights in which there is praying for the child; on the last of the four days is the baptism, during which the "sabedor" finds the name. Paí Kuará is the one who sends the "little angel," the spirit, of the child. -- When someone dies, the "sabedor" prays, "in [975] order to save the soul," which goes to Hyapúguasú. If he does not pray for the soul, it "becomes lost, stays in the dark."

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Face painting for women and children is indicated for the aboriginal Cayuá, with the use of both the red *urucú*[1] (*Bixa orellana*) and the dark *genipá* (*Genipa americana*) dyes. Judging from the present, only the women were expected to engage in smoking for pleasure, and the pipe was the common means by which tobacco was used by them. Some special use of tobacco as an intoxicant is likely for the shaman or *pa'i*. Pipes were molded of clay or carved of hard wood, sometimes the root of the *araçá* bush (tentatively identified with the *guava* or *goiaba*).

The aboriginal Cayuá had mouth blown flutes of bamboo. Stamping tubes[2] made of a large section of *taquara* (bamboo), of which the node of the lower end was left unperforated, were used by the women in group ceremonials. When the end was thumped on the ground, the *takuapá*, as it is called, emitted a dull resonating sound. The gourd rattle or *mbaraká* was used by the men, and this instrument was important in connection with the religious and curing ceremonies. The *takuapá* and *mbaraká* were probably kept in a sort of rack like an umbrella stand in a special place when they were not in use.

The musical bow in one form or another appears old in the area, although it would perhaps be impossible now to say if the miniature bow is aboriginal. (Musical bows do not seem to be indigenous to the South American tropical forest.) This is held in the mouth and stroked by another tiny bow strung inside of the first.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The basic social unit of the Cayuá was formerly the extended family, headed by an old man. Patrilocality is putatively indicated, though matrilocality was probably at least temporary. Marital locality was in any case tempered by the marriage of girls with the mother's brother. Descent seems to most investigators and to the present writer to have been patrilineal.[4]

The extended family was closely related to other aspects of Cayuá culture, notably to the kinship system, to economic organization, and to aboriginal architecture and the typical dwelling unit, the *tapái*. The *tapái*, a large structure, was the dwelling unit of the extended family. Here there was ample space for housing the several small families which comprised the larger unit. In fact, a structure of such a size and arrangement—a sort of "longhouse"—could not well have been adapted to any other size of group and organization of occupants. The small elementary families were distributed along the length of the dwelling, each stringing its hammocks, building its fire, and storing its equipment in its own section. Sections, however, were not parti-

[3] Cf. Izikowitz, 1935, pp. 151 ff.

[4] Cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1946. One of the co-authors of this article, Galvão, worked with the writer among the Cayuá. His conclusions, both privately expressed and those published in the above article, accord in many respects with those of the writer, as far as social organization of the Cayuá is concerned. Cf. also Watson, V. D., 1944.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

with much decoration of feathers. This the missionaries said was used idolatrously.[77] Such practices may also have been characteristic of the Cayuá. A cult of the dead is suggested among some Tupi-Guarani peoples.

The present Cayuá use of groups of what appear to be Christian crosses may be but a slightly Christianized modification of a similar aboriginal usage. Métraux speaks (Tupinambá) of "small posts sometimes provided with a cross bar from which painted images were suspended."[78] The Cayuá were similar to other Tupi-Guarani also in their magico-religious connotations for the gourd rattle or *mbarakâ*. This instrument was apparently always used in ceremonies and employed by the shaman (*paʼi*) in curing rituals. It was conceived of as having a spirit within, whose "voice" was the sound of the rattle itself. The spirit-possessed rattle may have been only that one which had been consecrated by the *paʼi*. Ceremonial rattles were accorded a special place in a sort of rack made for them and kept in the *tapâi* of the *paʼi*. (Perhaps each extended family had at least one shaman?) Since the Cayuá also had female shamans, it is likely that the *mbarakâ* was sometimes used by these women, but otherwise the instrument was restricted to male use. On a basis of comparison and reconstruction, ritual observances of the aboriginal Cayuá differed from those of the present primarily in being somewhat more elaborate.

The Cayuá, like other Tupi-Guarani, had the story of the twin culture heroes. The culture heroes and the various celestial beings, as recounted in the almost universally similar myths about them, were the makers of many of the conditions of the world, and they also gave some of the most important inventions, such as agriculture, to the people. But the culture heroes and their relatives of the Cayuá pantheon, sun, moon, thunder, and the like, were a rather distant order of beings who intervened little in current human affairs compared to the supernaturals who lived in the forest, the water, and the *taquara* groves. The interest and activity of the sky-gods in men's lives were largely matters of the remote past. As far as the Cayuá are concerned, one of the probable influences of Christianity was to center attention on these celestial and usually distant beings. Thus it may be that the first fruits ceremony in which the new crops are "baptized" was not aboriginally dedicated to any of the sky pantheon of *Ñandejára*[79] as at present. Certain seeds and also the first fruits were ceremonially treated by the Cayuá, however, as they are now.

SHAMANISM

Shamans (*paʼi*) have already been mentioned in connection with political organization, and at least certain of them did have considerable power in the

[77] Hernández, 1913, 1: 80–81; Dobrizhoffer, 1822, 2: 284.

[78] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 34.

[79] Literally, "Our Lord," apparently a missionary inculcated concept, at least in its present sense. Among the Cayuá it is also a generic term for the entire pantheon of celestial supernaturals. It seems to be ambiguous to at least some Cayuá, being at the same time singular and collective.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174
756 secular realm. With regard to their spiritual powers they seem to have varied
[562] considerably from individual to individual. Female shamans existed, but their powers were usually less than those of the leading male shamans. A knowledge of medicines, magic, and witchcraft was not the exclusive possession of anyone, and, indeed, men especially acquired more of such knowledge, as a rule, as they grew older. But this was not the same as being a recognized *pa'i*, a regular office whose duties included rain-making, divination, curing, and ceremonial leadership in extended family or group-wide ceremonies. Cayuá *pa'i*, judging largely from comparative and contemporary evidence, had familiar spirits at their service who guided them in indicating those guilty of witchcraft, in prescribing cures, and in predicting the future. Upon the results of his work the *pa'i* was judged and rated as a *pa'i guasú* ("great
[622] shaman") or as a less powerful practitioner. The *pa'i* was certainly a force in the community, and even if the secular leadership were not manifestly combined with the spiritual, it is doubtful whether a secular leader could
[628] often seriously oppose the word of a *pa'i guasú*. The fame of a "great shaman" even transcended the limits of his own community, and he was consulted by members of neighboring groups in particularly difficult matters or those in which, perhaps for political reasons, the local shaman demurred. The information about the Tupinambá,[80] as well as the accounts of the Jesuits concerning the Guarani, both indicate the existence of especially powerful *pa'i* whose names were widely known. Such men could count upon being respectfully received in villages many miles distant to which they might choose to travel.
[797] These more powerful shamans were often of particular annoyance to the
[786] priests of Rome, and for the Guarani there exist suggestions of abortive nativistic movements inspired by them.

The *pa'i* were held to have power in their breath and could infuse this virtue into other persons or into objects by breathing upon them. This was
[171] probably true of the Cayuá shamans as well. In other Tupi-Guarani groups
[276] tobacco was used for stimulating spiritual contact and making the breath still more powerful (with the smoke). It is not certain that the same was true
[824] of the *pa'i* of the Cayuá, but the presumption is strongly affirmative. It was probably the *pa'i* who led the first fruits ceremonies and those for consecration of the seeds. Although a large number of plant remedies seem to have been
[755] generally known by all, at least one difference between the ordinary person and the shaman in this regard is that the *pa'i* was often the only one able to diagnose a given case of sickness. Thus he alone was able to know exactly which certain remedy was indicated. Particularly when the affliction was one instigated by witchcraft were the special talents of the *pa'i* indispensable and the limited ordinary herbal lore of the layman relatively hopeless.

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[80] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 36.

A shaman is a man who owns a great many magic chants, which he uses for the common good of his people. He must also be capable of leading a ceremonial dance, of playing the rattle gourd in the different modes, and of performing the rites befitting certain circumstances. The main test of his skill is offered by the harvest dance, which can be successfully organized only by ... fledged shamans. By his "voltes" and jumps, the shaman endeavors to make his body "light." He must also have frequent dreams, because they give him superior knowledge and insight into the future.

The ancient *Guaraní* and even many modern groups assign disease to the intrusion of an object into the body. The *Apapocuva* visualize the source of the illness as an invisible substance that the shaman sees after he has chanted for several hours. The treatment's aim is to extract that substance and to endow the patient with magic power.

Legends and historical traditions both attest the extraordinary prestige enjoyed by some shamans of old who were leaders of their tribes. After receiving their inspiration, these great men retired into the wilderness, where they lived on celestial food. By constant dancing some *Apapocuva-Guaraní* shamans gradually subjugated their animal soul, strengthening their ayvucué, or peaceful soul, until they could fly toward the heavenly Land-Without-Evil.

Among ancient *Guaraní* great medicine men worked miracles by their chants. With their saliva they caused death. They were strong enough to drag a whole tribe across a large river. They claimed absolute control of all natural phenomena, including stars. After their death, their bones, kept as relics in luxurious hammocks hung in special huts, were worshiped and consulted as oracles. Ordinary shamans added to their prestige by sleight of hand.

Shamans are not only responsible for the religious life, but also interfere in the administration of justice. Whenever a succession of misfortunes is imputed to witchcraft, the shaman unmasks the sorcerer, who is savagely killed. The shamans' political power derives, naturally, from their prestige and from the fear which they inspire. Usually, witchcraft is blamed on a neighboring tribe. Sorcerers kill their victims by practicing witchcraft on their excreta.

MYTHOLOGY

The high-sounding names of the main characters in the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology tinge it with a solemnity quite foreign to the versions of the same motifs collected elsewhere.

The story of the creation is told in impressive terms. At the beginning there was darkness, and the Eternal Bats fought in the night. Our Great Father found himself and created the earth, which he propped on the Eternal Cross. With him was a companion, Our-Father-Who-Knows-Everything. Our Great Father made a woman, Our Mother, whom he